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ABSTRACT

The humanization of bureaucracies is essential in modern society. Traditionally, the training of administrators has emphasized three models of organizations. The first is the productivity model, the second model assumes that fulfilling the needs of organizational members will increase client satisfaction, and the third assumes a stable environment that can be manipulated by attending to selected clients. In the past, professionals have shaped bureaucracies to their own ends and away from a primary aim of service to people. Four reforms of bureaucracies are advisable: (1) promoting norms that support professional science, satisfaction for the actors in the bureaucracy, and effective service to clients, (2) considering some organizations expendable, especially those that are inhumane to actors or clients, (3) replacing the ideal of the cosmopolitan upwardly mobile professional with that of a "cosmo-local" who is committed to the present job setting and client relationships as well as to professional effectiveness, and (4) restoring excellence of service to clients by developing and relating the three kinds of knowledge that may be called "gnosis" (theory and scientific development), "episteme" (skill or knowledge application), and "logos" (explanation of the relation between theory and skill). Four types of professionals can be identified by a classification system using the types of knowledge they emphasize (episteme or gnosis) and the type of orientation they have (client-community or science). (Author/JM)

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SUMMARY

THOUGHTS ON REFORMING PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRACIES

The humanization of bureaucracies is essential in modern society. Most people have contacts with professionals in bureaucracies. Most clients who have to receive professional services in organizations must contend with the rigidities of organizational processes before they obtain services. Professions organized in bureaucracies are increasingly science oriented and impersonal. Client orientation, after a period of development of the profession, becomes secondary to commitment to the science of the profession. Collegial orientation in bureaucracies creates and supports that norm.

The training of administrators has emphasized three types of models of organizations. The productivity model establishes goals for organization which are seen by professionals in the organization as good for clients, and are neutral with respect to actors' needs dispositions. The two factor personal needs--productivity type of model have not been related to client satisfaction. The general system model assumes a stable environment which can be manipulated by attending to selected clients. All three types are rational, secular models which assume a steady state in society.

The client revolt against professional bureaucracies arises from the perception of incompetence, uneven service, waste, and expansion of the professionals' territory to include life concerns which are properly those of the client. The growth of scientific professionalism has increasingly turned professionals' attention toward each other rather than to the client. Professionals have shaped bureaucracies to their own ends and away from a primary aim of service to people.

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Four incremental reform of bureaucracies are suggested. They are:

1. Analyzing organizations to determine what kinds of rules and norms promote professional science, satisfaction for the actors in the bureaucracy, but also result in effective service to clients.
2. Considering bureaucracies expendable. Hopefully those organizations which are humane to clients at the same time they are humane to their actors will survive. But some Eupsychian, open, organizations might not survive.
3. Training of professionals should replace the cosmopolitan, upward-mobile ideal with the ideal of a cosmo-local. The cosmo-local is professionally effective and is at the same time involved with the social setting for professional practice.
4. Developing and relating three kinds of knowledge in professional organizations would help restore a norm of excellence of service to clients. These types are gnosis which is theory and scientific development, episteme which is skill or application of knowledge, and logos which is explanation to the public of the relationship between theory and skill application. A typology of episteme and gnosis against client-community and science orientation resulted in the identification of four types of professionals.

THOUGHTS ON REFORMING PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRACIES

The greatest organizational challange of our times is the humanizing of bureaucracies. Bureaucracies are so numerous and so powerful that they dominate modern societies and modern people. The task of humanizing bureaucracies must be done not only within, but from the outside to the inner layers. I will argue that making conditions more tolerable for bureaucratic actors does not thereby make an organization responsive, or in that sense humane, to clients.

Bureaucracy and modernism accompany one another. The nation states of Africa and Asia which were born in the 1950's and 1960's established administrative systems which were modern in the sense that they were scientific-rational rather than particularistic or fold related. The new nations chose to continue and enlarge the colonial bureaucracies they had inherited. In a few instances, the bureaucracies of the new nations continued a pre-colonial tradition of trained public service elites. To the degree that the new nations nationalized and enlarged their bureaucracies, they chose a rational model of administration rather than depending upon tribal or pluralistic community-cultural modes of administering justice, or education. A national model of administration requires uniformity and local compliance with prescribed methods of serving clients.

The growth of multicultural and multinational business concerns has brought citizens of every nation into contact with bureaucracies. Meanwhile in the developing nations, more and more energy has been expanded on bureaucratizing religion, charity, recreation, and non-public groupings.

Bureaucracies appear to be nearly indestructible. They survive even though their clients protest, their funds are reduced, they admit to inefficiency and treating clients badly. The Bureau of Indian Affairs of United States government is an interesting example of a bureaucracy which is hated by many of its clients, joked about by nearly all its clients, has been used as a terrible example of closedness and waste by educational professionals and scholars since 1928,[1] yet its budget continues to grow. Despite its shortcomings, its discontinuance threatens many Indian people with loss of federal government support, or at least the loss of commitment of the federal government to the education of Indian people. The BIA is hardy because it is perceived by many of its clients as being the embodiment of the presence of the federal government in a worthy effort--that of guaranteeing the education of the American Indian children. Its clients, even though they dislike it, fear the consequences of its demise even more.

The setting of professional practice is increasingly in bureaucracies.[2] This fact forces clients to submit to the ideology of science, or some kind of arcane knowledge in approaching the practicing professional, and it forces clients to approach the professional in an organization, which has hedged the professional with rules regarding time, place, and conditions of contact with clients. Many of the organizational conditions protecting the professional have been negotiated within the organization for the benefit of the professional. The more the professionals' time is protected, the more the bureaucracy conserves the expenditure of effort on clients to be spent on endeavors such as communicating among professionals, developing the science of the profession, or expanding the territory of the organization.

Administrator Training Models

Administrators of bureaucracies in which professionals dispense services to clients are oriented to professional norms rather than norms of clients. The administrators are trained in three types of organizational models:

1. Productivity Models
2. Actor Satisfaction Models
3. System Models

The first two look within the organization, and the third is interactive with the environment. The environment of the organization is affected partly by the client, but increasingly by the organization serving the client.

The first type of model is the oldest. It includes the Tayloristic efficiency model and more recent productivity models such as management-by-objective. Schools are being forced to reconsider this type of model as achievement results rather than open-ended objectives chosen by each teacher are emphasized. Productivity could include other types of production such as creativity, problem solving, and affect formation. Some examples of this model are based on the Bloom-Tyler paradigm consisting of specification of objectives, design of program, evaluation of extent of success, or discrepancy. Bloom's mastery model is a variation of the type.

All of these examples fall within the Theory X classification.[3] The productivity objectives set for the organization are not necessarily those determined by clients. They are set for clients by managers who assess clients' receptivity or desires. In a professional organization such as a school or a health care organization, the objectives are set by professionals who estimate the clients' requirements against organizational capability.

Schools organized in teaching teams are an example of the power equalization model. Professional satisfaction, according to Pellegrin is indeed enhanced.[5] Achievement productivity of teamed schools is as yet at unproven characteristic.

The second type of model is closer to McGregor's Theory Y ideal type. Theory Y types would require greater harmony between personal needs and organizational requirements than is possible in an imperfect universe, perhaps. Churches have difficulties with their saints, or especially with their saints.

Understanding the first two types and using them as training devices is an easier task than using the third, the system model, so they have had more influence than the third types on administrative behavior. Simulating the environment is a much more complex task than simulating organizations.

Systems are more complex, hence realistic, models for analysis and training than the more micro productivity and satisfaction models. However, the general systems model has two dysfunctions as an ideal type for training professionals. Both lead to trained incapacity with respect to clients and settings. The first is the inclination toward manipulation of the environment by administrators and professionals. It is apparent to trainers and their novices that environments are never completely benign to an organization. Hence the need to influence the environment through cooptation of representative clients or by influencing its resource regulation mechanism. Regulation of the output of the organization to satisfy the resource mechanism is not synomymous with client satisfaction, because only a few clients influence the resource regulation mechanism. Those clients who are most influential over the mechanism get favored treatment. As professionals tune the system to satisfy the resource regulation mechanism, to optimize with selected clients and to satisfice with the others, they create an alliance between the system

and a segment of the environment. An alliance between professionals within the system and the resource regulators is idealized.

A second disadvantage of general systems application is the stable environment fallacy. This fallacy is based on the assumption of a rational systems-environment fit.

The general systems, like the bureaucratic model, was elaborated by social scientists in developed countries of the northern hemisphere. The assumptions of both are that social environments are stable, hence predictable, require data more than values for making decisions, and require actors to comply with clearly recognized professional norms. To put it more simply, both assume a rational and secular world view.

Heper analyzed public administration training programs for bureaucratic elites in transitional societies.[6] He said that public administration training programs haven't grappled with the consequences of societal changes and the bureaucrat's role in changing societies. A defect in the training of bureaucrats is the use of factual rather than valuational bases of decision-making. What is needed are programs which develop new kinds and forms of knowledge, promote innovational attitudes, and commitment to change. His provocative article questions the underpinnings of all administrative preparation programs.

Clients Against The Organization

Clients are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with service systems like schools, to the point of organizing against them. In those school districts where voters must approve the annual school budget, it is no longer rare to hear of the citizenry refusing additional funds necessary to keep a district open an entire academic year. The problem is not Public Relations, but

something much deeper. The problem is alienation of professionals within the organization; and of alienation of professionals to clients.

The two phenomena are related. Miskel and Gerhardt described the first problem: "Conflict in the public schools appears to result from inconsistencies between organizational and professional goals."[7] Professional organizations violate the hierarchy of authority principle, which is a hallmark of bureaucratic organizations.

Satisfaction of professionals is supposedly enhanced by applications of the ubiquitous and venerable two factor models which identify personal needs and productivity as the main concerns administrators must have if an organization must be effective. But there is still no conclusive evidence that professionals necessarily work for the benefit of clients more effectively once their own needs are attended to.

A more serious and related problem is the growing gulf between professionals who practice a science, and their clients. As the scientific norms are accentuated, client orientation becomes secondary in the elite professional corps. The identification of the profession depends upon intensification of rational inquiry, or research, and autonomy of the professional to practice the "right kind" of applied science, under the "proper circumstances." All of this has been canonized by certification processes of various kinds, and organizational protection of those professionals who wish to practice scientifically.

Wilensky described this process in a seminal article, in which he says: ". . . perhaps bureaucracy enfeebles the service ideal more than it threatens professional autonomy."[8] That is the problem stated succinctly.

Bureaucracies accommodate professionals, limit their practice hours and conditions in order to protect them, as they wish to be protected from clients. In the name of science, a rivalry exists between those who value practice over those who value development of science or research. Wilensky styled the two sides as colleague orientation (scientific-rational) and client orientation. Eighty-four percent of those professionals (professors, lawyers and engineers) he studied who scored high in professionalism scored low in client orientation. Thirty-two percent of those who scored high in client orientation were low in professional orientation and the rest were medium on that scale.

It can be argued that Wilensky's data do not prove the professional's disdain for the client so much as a concern that the professional be a proper professional. An essential task of a profession is to define carefully what professionals can do and what they should not do. It follows that this task requires careful research and scholarly experts within the profession to suggest role boundaries and allocations of tasks in order that clients will be protected. The cost of that process, howerver, as scholars define these tasks is the loss of rapport with clients.

Haug and Sussman related scientific development within professions to client dissatisfaction.[9] A client is faced with both the professional's command of arcane science and the power of the organization to allow that client to obtain service. Clients used to be able to evade the service or select a professional but options are reduced as services are concentrated in bureaucracies. The clients' revolt attacks that basic legitimacy of the occupational and institutional claims to power by the profession. The revolt may begin with a discovery of widespread ineptness, waste, refusal to provide adequate service, or an attempt by the professionals to exceed their power.

Haug and Sussman see the revolt of the clients, then, not as irrational but as rational, because a bureaucratized profession is vulnerable on all of the four points.

Of the four causes for revolt, the last is the most serious charge, as viewed by the professionals, as it gets to the issue of what the professionals are legitimately about. If medical professionals define their scope of power as "health care," rather than remediation or diagnosis and treatment of pathology, they have crossed a line into territory which nearly every client can see belongs to everyone. Attempts by educational professionals to dictate that all children will attend a particular kind of school is outside the bounds of their professional competence.

After over a decade of expansion of professional power, the creation of more professional and paraprofessional roles, and trust invested by governments and clients in professionals, the 1970's are a time of doubt in professional efficacy, mistrust of expanded professional roles, and concern that professionals have an overriding self interest.

Suggestions for Reform

The reform of bureaucracies must begin. But how? The two factor models are of little help in orienting administrators toward the kind of reform which looks toward clients' definitions of their requirements. Satisfying more personal needs of the professionals in the organization delays the reform. Professional organizations are already too attentive to the definitions of what professionals see as their needs. But destroying the autonomy of professionals is to make the situation even worse; then administrators using the manager efficiency model will reduce client services to the least satisfying (to clients) level while wrecking the morale of the professionals.

A first suggestion is a "rational" means of reform. It is to analyze organizations carefully in order to determine exactly which kind of rules, processes, and norms are most conducive of both professional work and satisfaction, and at the same time result in maximum effective service to clients. Exactly what kind of participation and delegation under what kinds of circumstance, and in what kinds of organizations, result in client satisfaction and growth? The two factor model is too limited for this kind of analysis because intra-organizational satisfaction cannot be the major dependent variable in such analysis in which client satisfaction is to be considered.

Secondly, and most uncomfortably, bureaucracies must be considered expendable. A society will invent those kinds of organizations it requires to accomplish its goals as it discards others. Those organizations which survive are those which will have to adapt to the community of clients as well as to the prescriptions of science. Communities may in the process force orgnaizations to recognize the person of the client as well as the person of the actor as being essential in the professional organization-client relationship. The discarding of bureaucracies is undoubtedly a wasteful process in the sense that scientific progress promoted by professions might be set back. We have collectively far more science than we seem to be able to apply intelligently, however, and the prescriptions of science for all clients may be more dysfunctional for society than a selective application of it. The school is an example of a setting in which basic scientific principles now five decades old (e.g., immediate feedback, frequent feedback, strength of rewards in learning) are not practiced widely. It is difficult to argue that scrapping the modern school as an institution would set back scientific applications.

If organizations become more expendable, it might be precisely those which are most Eupsychian, or Theory Y oriented, which die first.[10] Open classrooms might wither before closed classrooms. Research institutes may be more vulnerable than production line operations. Hopefully, society, if it begins to dispose of bureaucracies will place a higher value on those which are more humane inside, and certainly it is to be hoped that clients will fight to preserve those institutions which are most humane toward clients. Unthreatened bureaucracies feel no need to reshape their relationships to clients. Perhaps the threat of extinction will cause reform of that relationship.

A third consideration in reform is the examination of the set of values underlying professional training. Norms of organizations are shaped in the process of training. Professional training programs shape elites. Elites can either be trained to work toward satisfaction of the professionals (second type of model), toward manager satisfaction or productivity (first type of model), or toward integration of scientific professionalism with concern for clients.

This type of integration is hinted at in a work by Goldberg.[11] He found that among engineering graduates of the Technion--Israel Institute of Technology, the cosmopolitan--local (or cosmo-local) rated higher in professional orientation, in satisfaction, freedom to determine work, and influence in the organization than either cosmopolitans or locals. Cosmo-locals were a type which looked toward satisfaction in a position in the present organization rather than to a future "jump" to some other system. They exhibited more of a sense of power over their surroundings, and were less inclined to look to professional meetings as the source of satisfaction.

If his findings held up across organizations and professions it might encourage a swing away from the romance with the cosmopolitan upwardly-mobile type whose satisfactions are in the profession and not in the work setting with its clients.

Khlief described a program in which the shaping of future school administrators away from "the kids" as the school's reason for being toward the ideal of urbanity, manipulation, and mobility upward toward positions with ever higher pay.[12]

Elites are chosen by those who shape them in the image of what is now deemed to be best to professionals. Elites become loyal to the bureaucracy which accept and promotes them. Unfortunately, Goldberg's cosmo-local is not the ideal of elite training programs, but is what happends to professionals who in the eyes of the elites, become too happy, too local, too place-bound. Less emphasis on cosmopolitanism as a necessary accompaniment of professional success might be healthy for organizations and their clients.

Professional elite formation invariably de-culturizes the trainees. Khlief noted the emphasis in the training program on becoming de-localized. As minority members enter professional training programs, they face a tough choice. The longer they remain in a training program, becoming attuned to the professional norms, the less comfortable they may be in returning to their communities.

Values, life style, and career choices change with professional training. The elites who come from among the clients, if they are to return to their communities, must decide whether they will identify with clients or professional colleagues in carrying out their roles. The more cosmopolitan the professional, the more recognizably a member the professional is of an

elite, the more likely that person will be to administer a system autonomously from the community, unless the training situation is one which supports the idea of the cosmo-local. The cosmo-local can be a scientific professional who will not look exclusively to a national norm system, but will consult clients about how to make judgments which harmonize with cultural values of the community served.

A final important item of reform is the necessity of recognizing different kinds of professional knowledge. Three Greek words--gnosis (γνῶσις), episteme (ἐπιστήμη), and logos (λόγος), all mean knowledge but are different kinds of knowledge.[13] Grosis implies higher knowledge, esoteric or profound knowledge, or speculation. The second word, episteme, refers to applied knowledge. It is still knowledge, knowledge refined by use. The third word, logos, is a rational explanation, a rule of conduct, process of thought. In a sense, logos is a bridge between the theory or speculation of gnosis and the knowledge of application carried by episteme. Episteme is not a word carrying a disdain for higher knowledge. It is closer to knowledge as craftsmanship, but is not mere craftmanship, as it is expert knowledge, refined by testing.

Logos can be thought of as the explanation of gnosis and episteme to the layman. Logos has to be in accord with speculation which has been tested. The theoretician and practitioner have to talk with each other about both gnosis and episteme if both are to use the logos to communicate with the public. The logos is not the property of one or the other but both have to use and contribute to logos if the word to the public is to be whole and accurate.[14]

A profession begins with episteme, a body of rules of conduct. Gradually, the principle of gnosis assumes primacy of honor among the professionals. Science for the sake of science, knowledge for its own sake, rather than that having any immediacy of application is cultivated. Those scientists who develop gnosis are more highly revered in the profession than those who develop episteme.

A profession needs both gnosis and episteme. What is damaging to a profession is the isolation of one type from the other. The tendency of each to damn or ignore the need for the others' type of knowledge has contributed to the poor quality of practice on one hand, and the lack of use of gnosis on the other hand. Both are related and are sides of the same disc. At the risk of multiplying two by two schemata beyond necessity, I have constructed one to illustrate the emphasis on knowledge utilization, and production, in training professionals.

Training of professionals requires systems of norms. There are cultural breaks within each profession of knowledge use versus knowledge production. Those in the culture of production of knowledge usually are closer to gnosis while those in the culture of knowledge utilization are closer to episteme.

Schema of Community and Science Orientation vs. Types of Knowledge

Client-Community Orientation	Science Orientation	
episteme	Professional I	Professional II
gnosis	Professional III	Professional IV

In reasoning about the characteristics of professionals who orient to

gnosis and episteme, it is helpful to consider four rather than two ideal types, by crossing two types of knowledge with client-community and science orientation. The two latter categories were employed by Wilensky as client vs. professional orientation.[15]

It is the position of this author that all four panels describe a legitimate type of professional. Using the briefest descriptors possible, Professional I can be considered a practitioner; Professional II as an organization person; Professional III as a scientific extension person; Professional IV is the autonomous scientist. Labeling Professionals II and III is more difficult than I or IV which represent existing ideal types.

Bureaucracies are not the only places to dispense help to clients, but all four professional ideals are found in bureaucracies, because bureaucracies accommodate to all four labels. Bureaucracies differ in the degree to which they reward or honor each of the four. Mixed motive professionals, particularly two and three, attempt to bridge between client participation and the culture of science.

Each type of professional is attributed its respective training and knowledge emphases in Table I. Training emphases for each professional range from less extended formal training to concentration on formal training in theory and scientific methodology. The training emphasis also includes the orientation to clients appropriate to the type of professional formation.

Knowledge emphasis relates to the development or utilization of knowledge which is the appropriate to the ideal type. These professional types are not hierarchical with respect to knowledge or client orientation.

TABLE I

Training and Knowledge Emphases

Appropriate to Each Professional Category

Professional	Training Emphasis	Knowledge Emphasis
I	Less extended formal training. Field training with clients wherever they may be. Adaptative to client settings.	Utilization or application to clients of reliable "real life" situations. Testing scientific knowledge based on observations with clients.
II	Extended formal training using selected clients in laboratory settings. Consideration of delivery of clients to places with best conditions of practice.	Utilization of scientific knowledge tested with selected clients. Emphasis on improving the professionals' use of new science.
III	More extended formal training requiring trainees to serve as interns in organizations serving clients. Concern for delivery of packages of best science to clients.	Development of methods of knowledge utilization in organizations and community settings in order to help clients.
IV	Formal training in theory and scientific methodology. Little contact with clients, except for highly selected examples to test hypotheses.	Development of concepts and hypothesis testing. Knowledge developed which is not immediately applicable to practice.

A condition in which all four professionals shape and help one another is a necessary ideal. If the two cultures embodying gnosis and episteme continue to scorn each other the client continues to be the loser.

Reform of bureaucracies will take place eventually. Incremental, non-violent change presupposes the continuing patience of those clients who get the poorest service. Violent changes which put new norms in place suddenly for bureaucracies is the product of social revolution. This paper assumes a state of continued client patience.

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14. אני מתנגד לפירוש, אשר לפיו דרושים מומחים, בצורת מפרשים או מומחים ליחסי ציבור, שיעבירו את הלוגוס אל הקהל, כדי לחסביר מקצוע מסוים. 'לוגוס' היגו חסבר, או מערכת כללים, אשר על כל אנשי המקצוע להשתמש בו ולשכללו.

15. ראה 9 למעלה.